1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

size of Alabama supports more than twice that state's population. But Greece has considerably less economic wealth. For instance, only about 25 percent of the land is arable. We see a people which in a fifty-year period has been able to survive five wars, including an exhausting civil war, at least two catastrophic population displacements, several violent earthquakes, and chronic droughts. Although it is a long span between Periclean Athens and the Greece which is the keystone of the Eastern Mediterranean NATO group, the Greeks, despite their repeated crises, seem to have gained in the strength to keep alive their vital spirit.

Every Greek stands out so distinctly as an individual that he defies easy location along the social spectrum. Is it the fierceness of the struggle to survive that has produced the sharply outlined individualism of the Greeks? Despite these marked individual differences, the Greeks can be sorted into three general groupings: the city Greeks, the seafaring Greeks, and the rural Greeks.[2] Each group, though sharing much in common, has a somewhat different orientation in its style of life. Each still depends upon the other two for the realization of its national destiny, and each adds its own color to the rainbow quality of contemporary Greek society.

The largest group, and the one least known, is that of the rural Greeks, the chief subject of this book. But this group cannot be understood out of its social context or without sketching in the outlines of the other two groups — the Greeks who live in cities and the Greeks who live by and on the sea.

The City Greek

Greek history shows that the Greek has traditionally been a child of the city. In antiquity he developed the city-state and he colonized through cities, not through the homestead on some developing frontier. Today, two thousand years later, Greek peasants coming to America directly from a village take up a trade in a city with much greater alacrity than they take up farming.[3] Behind this feeling at home in the city, which seems to exist in most Greeks (but most strongly, of course, in the settled urban classes), there is a fact of historic importance: the Greeks learned early that the city had a social organization all its own and that from the city radiated lines of economic, political, and religious authority. They knew that those who understood the city could manipulate these lines.[4] Thus armed, they were able to keep in advance of their neighbors to such an extent that, when the semi-nomadic Turks captured the Greek capital (Constantinople) in 1453, the conquered Greeks quickly moved into places of prominence and power in the conqueror's regime. Consequently, the Greeks through the years have become increasingly experienced in the arts of social administration and economic dealing in an urban setting. Every event or possible event had its "angle" to be weighed judiciously and then energetically exploited.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The City Greek]

Athenians know more about the French Riviera than the rural regions of their own country, and others of them live so entirely in an urban world that they take the Greek villager for granted, which in many ways is worse than ignoring him.[9] Yet such city Greeks, once this attitude is pointed out to them, are the first to admit their ignorance and to start another discussion on the novel subject of the Greek village, from which so many of them derive.

But there are somber shades as well to the sparkle and dash of Greek wit. To persuade many of the Greek officials to move from talk to action would have its difficulties and would prove particularly frustrating to an American or Britisher who had a special job to complete in a given period of time. It is also probably true that, given the present state of the Greek economy, almost any official is more interested in holding his job than in pressing toward real accomplishment if this might antagonize those above or below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Some of these officials, native sons of the village and not yet sure of themselves in the urban environment, spend disproportionate amounts of time in mending their political fences or in sitting on them, a pose easy for many Greeks to assume while rationalizing their problems away.

The qualities of city Greeks which have been mentioned here — self-confidence, intellectual curiosity, philosophizing a problem away, preoccupation with maintaining and improving one's position, and an awareness of a great cultural tradition — are endearing to some while irritating to others.[10] The urban Greeks who seem best to embody the heritage from the past and to approach with sincerity their problems of today are those who have taken time to know both the city and village Greece of the 1960's. Sharing the difficulties faced by their neighbors in the city, they also understand the grave readjustments occurring in the countryside.

The Island and Seafaring Greeks

The tradition of the city, ancient but still tremendously significant today, has mingled with the equally ancient traditions of the sea in the formation of modern Greece. Odysseus still lives in the Aegean and Ionian Islands today, not only in the resourcefulness with which he approached his problems but in the extent of his voyages. The seafarers are primarily the islanders, and Greece has many islands.[11] Although the sea, never more than eighty-odd miles distant from any point in Greece, has an indirect influence on the horizons of all Greeks, it is the direct source of livelihood to many islanders. Whether as fishermen or merchant seamen, they must study its moods in the same way that the city merchant studies the market or the peasant the condition of the soil. The seamen become so cosmopolitan through their voyages that they feel at home in many port towns with people speaking many languages. This at-homeness in the world extends to

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Peloponnesos.[1] Many villages are snowbound for two, three, or even four months. The government has learned the necessity of helping these people stockpile their basic stores of food well in advance of the cold weather to avoid starvation or at least the malnutrition which would otherwise occur in these isolated villages.

Even around Athens, so very near the sea, the mountains take on an Alpine effect. On a January day in 1953, when early jonquils were blooming in the gardens around the villas, a thirty-minute drive took us to the top of Mount Parnes where people were skiing in two feet of snow, which lasted from three to four weeks.

In addition to the climatic role they play, the mountains become places of refuge when invaders overrun the country. Here the revolutionaries against the Turk began to flex their muscles prior to the beginning of the revolution in 1821. The dwellers of the cities and the monks in the monasteries may have kept Greek culture, in the sense of civilization, alive, but the villagers kept the spirit of independence alive. Over and over again those who really know Greece would say, "you have not seen our country until you leave the main highways and go up into the mountains to talk with the hardy peasants there." This tradition of the mountains is a conditioning influence in Greek thought and life along with the tradition of the sea.

What, one wonders, do the peasants think of the rough terrain about them? Do they personify any of the peaks or make their summits the dwelling place of gods, as did the Greeks of old? The old Greek pantheon, it seems, has been liquidated by the Christian God and the collection of saints revered by the Eastern Orthodox Church. "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," Swinburne's classic pagan wept. One does find on most peaks a monastery to St. Elijah, a whitewashed building reflecting the slanting sun in early morning or late afternoon. Students of these matters seem to agree that Elijah (Elias), who disappeared in a chariot of flame, may have superseded Helios and his fiery steeds.[14] The top of the mountain from ancient times has been the place to worship the sun.

Particular mountains, however, do have their own local traditions. One of the peaks of Panaitolikon in Central Greece is called the Mountain of the Old Woman, as the following legend explains.

> Once upon a time an old woman had finished pasturing her sheep below for the winter and had moved them up into the mountains for summer grazing. The month of March was almost ended, so the woman said: "March, you can go away; I don't need you any more for I have had a good winter below and will have a good summer here." But March in its anger borrowed one day from February, giving him thirty-one days. On that day there was a heavy storm. The old woman froze and turned into marble and there she now stands. That's why they call those heights the Mountain of the Old Woman.

1 [Throughout the Pindus area and the higher parts of the Peloponnesos - ANALYST]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

marine. As of November 1957, the Greek merchant fleet numbered 541 vessels, whose tonnage totaled 1,510,535 tons. By 1961 its 1,110 ships amounted to 5,893,652 tons.

In addition to being a potential economic asset, the sea makes its influence felt in a psychological sense. "The Romans built roads but the Greeks always used the sea" was an observation made to me by a retired Greek admiral. The more one thinks about this simple statement of difference between two great nations of antiquity, the clearer become the varied bases for their greatness. Rome, the conqueror of the European continent and much of the Mediterranean world, held on to her territorial conquests for centuries, but the lasting conquests of ancient Greece were not those of territory, which she also conquered from time to time, but the victory of a superior culture. The Romans were administrators of subject lands; the Greeks became traders and merchants who colonized along the coasts of the whole known world, accumulated their wealth in cities, and maintained a competitive individualism much in evidence even today.

From this tradition of the sea the Greek has gained an outward look, sometimes carried to extremes. "He knows about every country but his own" commented a Westerner who had spent many years in Greece.

An old, old peasant put the way he felt toward the sea and what it meant to him in these words:

"Look over the sea," he said, pointing to the shining water in the distance. "Do you know anything farther than that? Going over the sea means going over to America. In the olden days, under the pressure of need, one stole from the other and the other fought back and killed and so got out of the country. Only the goat thieves and the peasants were left. For us village people, 'farther than the sea' means not just emigrating but also means bringing in. We can use it to improve life. Here near our village we have a waterfall and big water supply; we can have electricity and irrigation but we need scientists from across the sea to tell us how to use what we have. Then more people can live on the land and will not need to emigrate."

There are many Greeks, especially women, in isolated villages who have never seen the sea. Even for them it seems to have a deep emotional meaning, for, as one Greek folklorist explained to me, there is an unconscious worship of water all over Greece. A twenty-one-year-old peasant girl on her way to relatives in Athens rode with us from her village in the heart of the Peloponnesos. This was her first trip away from home. We stopped on the brow of a mountain while she had her first view of the sea. She who had ridden with us for many miles, shy and silent, looked out to the wide indigo horizon and cried, "Thalassa! thalassa!" (The sea! the sea!), and then subsided, wide-eyed. It was obvious to all of us that she was deeply

1:Sanders Z-5¼ (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and strangely moved. Not only the majestic view affected her but the knowledge that this same sea had carried off to America many relatives, only a few of whom had returned. To her the actual sight of the sea meant a new horizon; it gave her peasant world a new dimension.

For the islanders the biggest celebration of the year is Epiphany (January 6) when all of the families go down to the sea to participate in "the blessing of the water." The cross is thrown into the sea and boys dive for it, the lucky one obtaining it receiving a gift of money and considering himself fortunate for the coming year. This ceremony represents the baptism of Christ, but its performance — the contact of the cross with the water — supposedly gives the water dipped up at the ceremony a special efficacy in healing sickness. It is treasured holy water. Ethnologists tell us that this blessing of the sea dates from pre-Christian times, another indication of the hold of the sea on these island dwellers. It is still an island habit, when there are big storms at sea, to sweep the church and throw the sweepings into the sea to calm it; or the people may take oil from the lamp in the church and spread it on the water, begging the sea to quiet down.

The sea, like the mountains, has its own folklore. One of the most persistent beliefs among seamen is the presence in the deep of the sister of Alexander the Great, the Gorgon, often called the spirit of the sea.[17] This legend is beautifully told by Elias Venezis, one of Greece's outstanding writers, in his novel *Aeolia*:

> Once upon a time in the land of Greece there lived a young king, Alexander the Great. He had a sister called Gorgona. Alexander the Great traveled to distant lands, crossing many mountains and seas, and when he returned he brought back with him the water of immortality. He would have drunk it when his hour of death came, and he would never have died. He would have conquered all the strongholds of the world, and would have reigned forever. But he was not quick enough. His sister saw the water of immortality and, without knowing what it was, drank it. Then Alexander the Great was filled with rage and seized her by the hair and threw her into the sea. Ever since then the Gorgon lives in the sea. Her eyes are very round and she has snakes in her hair. Her arms are of bronze and there are golden wings on her shoulders. From her waist down she is a fish, and she is queen of all the other fish in the sea. She keeps alive the memory of the great king her brother who died when he was young and she always asks seafaring men she meets on her journeys:
>
> "Is Alexander the Great still alive?"
>
> "He is alive, and he reigns," they answer her.
>
> When she hears this, the Gorgon is filled with joy and orders the waves to let the caique pass. But if any seaman does not know this, and tells her that the king is dead, then he has nothing to hope for. The Gorgon raises a typhoon and seizes him and his caique and its crew and drags them down with her. Then she rises high onto the waves again to find another sailor who can reassure her that her brother is living, and that Alexander the Great has never died. . . .[18]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

One often hears the expression, "he is alive, and he reigns," in Greece today, for it has become a household adage. When a person is asked how someone is getting along, he may reply, "he is alive, and he reigns."

On the little islands of Greece, on many wild promontories of the mainland, stand the small white churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man. He replaced Poseidon, king of the sea, an important personage in the pagan pantheon, and most of these churches are built as the result of some vow made by the sailors faced with shipwreck who turned for help to the little icon of the saint in the stern or on the mast of the ship. These sailors curse the sea, speaking of it as "that old scoundrel," but they are tied to it with many bonds other than the economic. They tell the story of their patron saint, who found for himself the hold the sea has upon the Greek people. Nicholas suffered so many misfortunes from the sea that he decided to put it behind him forever. He picked up an oar and started walking. Every now and then he would stop someone and ask, "Do you know, stranger, what this is that I am carrying?" He moved higher and higher up into the mountains until he finally found a village where no one could identify what he was carrying and there at last he felt he could settle down, safe from the all-encircling sea.

Thus, it is not at all out of character for the seafarers, like their patron saint, to become thoroughly disgusted with the sea. They will imprecate her and, referring to her in the feminine gender, will imply that there is treachery afoot. They are also aware of her charm and, unlike the monk-like St. Nicholas, find they cannot live apart from her.

The Greek, whether seafarer or peasant, has come to grips with his stern physical environment, and this tough set of mind is just as important to his survival as the resources which he must utilize in his daily life. The tradition of the mountains led to the preservation of an independent villager, proud in his poverty, passionately devoted to his local area, and a worthy perpetuator of the folk legacy of ancient Greece. The tradition of the sea led the seafarer outwards and developed a type of Greek quite different from the mountaineer. The seafarer's commerce supplemented the self-subsistence of the peasant, but both joined together to create the political unit that is Greece today.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

on the land they farmed.[8] Despite these economic disadvantages, the Greek peasants, in the 1960s as well as in the 1920s, kept on living in villages. The talk of "saving time" has little appeal, since the villagers move in a time sequence quite unrelated to the concept of the industrialized West. They ask, "Save time for what?" As an aside, it is of interest to note that whereas the Greek villager becomes bored when one talks of saving time, he listens intently when one suggests ways of increasing his income, adding to his food supply, or helping him meet his taxes.

Another deterrent to the settlement on the independent farmsteads was noted by Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States Ambassador to Turkey (1913–16) before serving as Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, established by the League of Nations. He called it the "hiving" habit of Greek families, which led those coming from one village in Asia Minor to try to relocate together in a new community in Greece. His observations, though couched in superlatives, are well worth repeating:

> The Greek character has special qualities that had to be taken into account [in resettlement]. Like his ancestors, the modern Greek is an intense individualist. Interference with his personal independence, or his freedom to order his life in his own way, is sharply resented. Every Greek has his own ideas about everything and hesitates neither to express them nor to act upon them. He would be quite impossible to manage were not this disintegrating characteristic counterbalanced by his equally intense social instinct. He is the most gregarious of human beings and will not live where he cannot foregather in the evening with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the local café are as dear to the heart of the Greek as were the weekly gatherings at the meeting house to the Puritans of old — and for many of the same reasons. . . .[9]

Furthermore, as Morgenthau also pointed out, new houses could be provided much more quickly and inexpensively in a village setting than if each house had to be constructed all by itself at considerable distance from all other houses.

Reconstruction also had to be carried out after World War II and the close of the guerrilla war. Along with this there was some relocation of villages because the old sites were considered too inaccessible or the means of livelihood too precarious. One such place was Menithi, on the seacoast of Western Greece, where three hundred families were settled between 1949 and 1951. They had come from two communities in the mountains about five or six hours' walk away. Their home villages had been destroyed three times: by the Italians, then by the Germans, and finally by the Communist Antartes. The peasants were primarily agricultural and livestock producers but knew nothing of the sea. As we talked with them in the plateia, within a stone's throw of the sea, some of the men asked, "What do we shepherds know about fishing?" and others, with disgust in their

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

earth" is a term really descriptive of the average peasant holding of less than 10 acres, too small an area to support the average family of 5 people who try to live from its products. Put another way, 37 percent of the farms have an area of less than 2.5 acres, and 51 percent comprise from 2.5 to 12.5 acres.[1]

As peasants come more and more into the orbit of the city, as they substitute commercial values for their traditional agrarian values, the bond with the land loosens and their attitude toward the land undergoes a change.[2] Where it once was a sacred heritage to be preserved and passed on intact to posterity, the land tends to become a commodity to be bought and sold; and the peasant becomes a farmer, whom one approaches differently from a peasant, for his attitudes and values are different. Such differences are described more fully later as part of the summing up of social changes noted in Greece.

There was no way of finding out what changes were occurring among the villagers in the various regions of Greece except to talk with them and with those who work with them. Few studies had been made. People in Athens, both Greek and American, guessed and speculated, sometimes shrewdly, but no one could do more than point out that change was occurring. So I had to go into the provinces and see for myself, being careful to visit areas which Greeks generally agreed differed markedly from each other. Some areas have become much more like the city than other areas, more farmer than peasant. Others are much more in the classic peasant mold of Hesiod's day.[3]

Far in the northwest corner of Greece, in Epirus, the director of agriculture said:

> The rural people here do not part willingly with their land. On the contrary, because the plots are small, they are always trying to increase the size of their holdings. At the same time, the people here have a strong trait of localism. They may be offered a larger tract in another part of Greece in keeping with some of our current resettlement programs, but the Epirote is reluctant to leave. He prefers to live on a poverty margin in the area that he knows and loves rather than to follow the promise of a better existence elsewhere.
>
> One clue to the importance of land to the Epirote is the quarrels that families and even villages have about it. Within one hour of Ioannina there are three villages which have been arguing over a tiny bit of land for three months. Although the land is so rocky that it is useful only for pasture, a representative had to be sent to Constantinople to search the old records to see to whom the land really belonged.
>
> It also happens quite frequently that Epirotes who move to Athens, and even settle there permanently, becoming quite prosperous, won't relinquish the fields that they own back here. They, too, still sense a certain security in the possession of land.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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X

Mutual Aid and Cooperatives in Rural Greece

The Greek village provides many evidences of mutual aid, although the Greeks are not renowned for their cooperative tendencies. Indeed, those commenting on Greek national character usually state that the Greeks cooperate only in a crisis. If there is no crisis at hand, they have to make one in order to get the job done. This view is partially correct, since some examples of mutual aid respond directly to a sense of urgency, while others follow traditional patterns at a leisurely pace. For instance, a group of potato diggers near Neochori were brought together to meet a sudden need.

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A Potato-digging Group near Thebes

It was March 28, 1953. We had turned off the main highway between Thebes and Athens and were headed eastward along a secondary road in search of some villagers whose relatives in California had insisted that we carry their greetings in person. Before we had found the right village, we noticed more than forty people busily harvesting potatoes in a nearby field. We stopped the car, walked into the field, and were greeted by Yannes P. Katseles, the owner, who lives in Neochori, the village just up the way. The men were digging the potatoes; the women were picking them up and cleaning them; and a commission merchant standing on his truck was

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[123]
[462]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

244 476 578 issuing invitations usually avoid other women with whom they have had a recent quarrel, although they do not hesitate to invite two women on good terms with the hostess but not on good terms with each other. These women can usually stay far enough apart in such a large group that they do not have to associate with each other or air their differences. Men are said to be less inclined to let previous disagreements affect their invitations, even inviting those with whom they may have sharp differences. Their main concern is to get the job done. Just the same, they rely chiefly upon relatives and neighbors. The women in Yannes' living room all agreed that there was no one in the village who had the reputation for not paying back the work that others had contributed, which shows the seriousness with which this obligation is assumed and discharged.

124 But no interview in a Greek village is a one-sided affair. The visitor has to answer questions if he has asked them. Never have I heard questions fly quicker and faster than on this visit to Neochori when the women sensed that I had finished my inquiry about potato diggers. My interpreter was quizzed about her life in Athens, where she got her clothes, how she had learned to drive a car, and about members of her family. I was asked about my income in America, what kind of kitchen my wife had, and about many details which she could have answered much better than I if she had been able to accompany us up from Athens on that particular afternoon. This [181] occasion showed that when the Greek villagers began to express themselves on their home ground, in a familiar setting, they stood out as inquisitive, interesting personalities who shared many of the same concerns as fellow human beings in other countries despite their noticeable differences of dress, speech, and other cultural manifestations.

000 In driving back to Athens we had to pass the same potato field which had been the cause of this excursion. I thought at the time that a study, at a later date, of changes in the mutual-aid groups would tell much about changes in Greek life in general. Will mechanization eliminate the necessity of group harvesting? Will economic considerations so rule a later day that Yannes will invite only efficient workers from throughout the village, or will he continue to use relatives and neighbors because of his close social bonds with them?

Traditional Patterns of Mutual Aid

476 539 Throughout rural Greece one finds many examples of mutual aid. Even proverbs attest to the value of cooperation: "bean by bean the bag is filled"; "many streams make up the river"; "many stones knock down the walnut." Union in strength is stressed as well: "where there are many, God's blessing"; "where there are many, many riches"; "the many are the ones who will take Constantinople."

It is understood, too, that each party will live up to his end of the bar-

1:Sanders Z-5 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

XIII

[P 241]

The Village School

What Will Happen to Us If We Can't Read?

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"I was making a distribution of goods in the village of Tsarakina, near Trikkala, during the days of the guerrilla war," explained Elle Adoosides, who is well known for her humanitarian activities during and after World War II. "Four field policemen were helping with the distribution. Suddenly a boy of about ten years appeared before me. His legs were like matches from undernourishment, his face was yellow, his arms were bare, and he was dressed in flour bags. With a determined look, such as only a child can assume at times, he spoke up and said: 'I too have something to ask.' 'Something to eat? Some chocolate perhaps?' I inquired, in what I thought was a kindly voice. 'No,' he said impatiently and then raised his head, giving me a piercing glance, 'what we need is a teacher, books, pencils, and paper. What will happen to us if we can't read and do our sums?' "

181 ●

This incident highlights in a vivid way the Greek's thirst for education. On every hand, one reads and is told by Greek informants that "education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece." [1] Young people from Greece who come to America to study are told in letters from their village friends back home: "Don't sleep, learn all you can." The same theme is voiced in conversations in village squares throughout the country as local officials stress the point that their people value education very much, citing in-

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1:Sanders Z-5/4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

181 871 stances of parents who disposed of some of their precious livestock to get the necessary money to help a son finish a year in a secondary school in the nearby town.

[173] This appreciation of education has many roots. For one thing, the old folks keep alive the stories of the secret schools which were held clandestinely during Turkish times in those areas where the Turks did not permit schools to operate. In such cases the priest, the only literate man in the village, would open a night school to which the boys would go to learn to read and write. Since the Greek villagers, like many peasants in other countries, dislike to be out after dark, the boys were always a little fearful as they went between their homes and the secret school. They longed for a [533] full moon to light their way and sang the following song, which is still heard today in village schools as a tradition:

> My brilliant small moon,
> Give me light to walk and go to school,
> To learn the alphabet
> And to be educated into God's work.

In the old days, then, education was precious because it was hard to get and involved a risk.

156 181 871 But it also is one of man's best ways of expressing his own individuality. Education, though a socializing influence in the early stages, becomes individualistic in the upper reaches. There each student seeks to appropriate for himself from the lecture, the reading, or the discussion that which fits into his own evolving interests and plans. Though socially derived and acquired, education in its essence is highly individualistic. This the Greek can appreciate.

555 181 871 In addition, education in Greece, as elsewhere, is the ladder of opportunity which youngsters can climb to reach the city or to move into some coveted profession. For, along with valuing an education, there is the corollary honor paid to those who can boast an education and wear it well. [46] Furthermore, an education and a well-paid white-collar job resulting from it eliminate the necessity of manual labor, which the Greek finds most uncongenial. The university professor, for instance, is not only a man of repute but is also a man of affairs. When the king needs a caretaker government to hold things together until a new government is formed after a [643] forthcoming election, he more often than not asks a professor to serve as prime minister.

857 872 In spite of the high place given education, the village boys and girls have to earn theirs the hard way. For them there is truly no royal road to learning. In confirmation of this, we turn again to T. K. Papaspyropoulos and the account of his Peloponnesian village.[9]

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

Evidence suggests that

an individual's or family's *filotimo* would be considered severely damaged if they stole from a stranger to whom hospitality had been offered; in fact, such thefts are very rare in any Greek village. Within Vasilika itself, there was some petty filching now and then, but it did not occur on the scale one would have expected from the frequent references to theft and thieving in conversation.

The inhospitality of people in other places was a frequent topic of conversation at the homes of those celebrating name days. A man could always raise a laugh by describing the ludicrously meager food and drink provided at a wedding or name day celebration he had attended at another village. Usually in response to any questions about the occurrence in Vasilika of deviant behavior, or of some form of discord, or of some moral transgression, the villagers began by making a general statement of denial. Such things happened in other villages, they would say, but not in Vasilika.

It would seem from the foregoing that Vasilika's population did, indeed, identify itself with the village as an entity. Vasilika is their *patridha*, and it must be thought to have good qualities, I believe, because the village's qualities reflect on its inhabitants both in their status as individuals and as families. Pride in the village, then, may be an extension of pride in oneself or one's family, and the functional consequences for village-wide enterprises of the existence of such pride depend on the strength of the competing sources of satisfaction.

In Vasilika, since farms may be maintained by the labor of the elementary family with only periodic requirements for a larger labor force, since sons and daughters leave the village and yet maintain relationships with those still in Vasilika, and since individuals can expect to give and to receive protection from their families, the forces leading toward either independence or family solidarity would appear to be strong enough to leave little energy for village-centered activities as a method of augmenting self-esteem. Nevertheless, the village as an entity constitutes a permanent potential source of satisfaction for its inhabitants, and now and then, under certain circumstances, the village itself becomes the primary object of loyalty for its population and commands some sacrifice. The boundary dispute with Parori was such an occasion for Vasilika. Moreover, any individual can, if he wishes, use his energies when he occupies an official position to gain improvements for the village as a means of enhancing his own self-esteem and of gaining the respect of the villagers, as long as he does not do so at the expense of his own children. The people of Vasilika are entirely willing to enjoy and to speak proudly of the electricity, or the piped water, or the better roads in Vasilika, once they have obtained them, even if they are not always willing to work together to achieve the improvements.

But Vasilika, as a village, must compete with another focus of loyalty for its inhabitants besides the family: Greekness itself—and the Greek nation as a political entity. The villagers' awareness of and pride in their Greekness is profound. In 1956 when we were questioning the children as to what they wanted to be when they grew up, several boys answered that they hoped God would let them grow strong and sturdy so that they could be good soldiers and go to "Fight for Cyprus." Moreover, the villagers associate certain qualities with Greek ethnicity: the desire for political independence and the willingness

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

to fight for it against overwhelming odds—they cite the evidence of the ancient Greek Battle of Marathon, of the revolution against the Turks, and of the refusal to give in to the Italians during World War II; the love of freedom in all spheres to the point of unwillingness to take orders from anyone—"Twelve Greeks, thirteen Captains," they say; cleverness and guile—they cite Odysseus and the success of Greek merchants the world over; the love of talk and of political conversation in particular—they cite Aristotle's comments on man as a political animal and illustrate his point by referring to the coffeehouse talk in Vasilika; the love of adventure, of *peripetyes*, of risk—they cite their preference for the Odyssey over the Iliad because the Odyssey has more vicissitudes; the hospitality extended to strangers often at the expense of the family—they cite *Ksenios Zefs* (Zeus, the patron of strangers) and the sheltering of individuals during the German occupation. This list does not exhaust the Greek qualities the villagers assign themselves. But the qualities and the examples given are included to show that the people of Vasilika think of themselves as Greeks with a set of ethnic characteristics which they believe they have shared with the inhabitants of the country in historical continuity from classical Greek times, through Byzantium, into the present.

For a volume on a modern Greek village to refer in the first chapter to ancient Greek tragedy and to end with a reference to the sense of kinship the villagers have with the ancient Greeks is peculiarly fitting. Although the classical Greeks are by no means in the forefront of the villagers' consciousness, and although their understanding of the details of the classical age is incomplete, the knowledge that "Greece brought light to the world" contributes to the villagers' faith in their own ability to develop themselves and their country. The people of Vasilika are proud of being Greeks and they want very much to achieve *proödhos* (progress) for their families, for their village, and for the glory that is Greece.

urban members of the family regularly visit the villages. They have high prestige and are strong advocates of urban ways. They stress the superiority of urban and town doctors over the doctors who travel through the countryside on horseback to treat the villagers. If urban or town doctors are to be consulted during an illness and their care is then needed, hospitalization is the only answer. The result is that childbirth and the care of serious illness at home has come to be associated with low social position and low income, hospital care with high social position.

This description of hospital care would be incomplete without some more detailed discussion of the specific disadvantages of such care to the villagers. The expense is a major element not only because cash is scarce and long hospitalization may use up savings; indeed, it sometimes requires the sale of land. It has importance also just because the payments are made in cash, and cash must be saved by the Greek villagers for a daughter's or a sister's dowry. Every time the family's economic resources are used for other purposes it delays the marriage of the daughters. This causes considerable anxiety and leads to some sense of guilt on the part of the patient, and of resentment, not always suppressed, on the part of the family. A less acute, but nevertheless, real disadvantage of hospitalization is the increased burden of work it places on those left at home. This also occasions guilt feelings on the one hand and resentment on the other. Finally, the necessity for dealings with doctors and nurses adds to the number of role relationships which the villagers regard with suspicion. The family, in its own view, is therefore confronted with yet another occasion in which there is a threat of loss of *filótimo* (the Greek version of the oriental "face"). Constant vigilance, they believe, is necessary to see to it that the hospital personnel do not succeed in outsmarting the village family. All of these disadvantages are consequences of serious illness, in any case, but they are much intensified by hospitalization.

The evidence indicates, however, that these anxiety-producing consequences of hospital care are substantially outweighed by what are consciously and unconsciously felt to be its advantages. However, I believe that without the compensating sense of familiarity and continued participation in family relationships which the small Greek hospitals afford, the disadvantages of hospitalization would be overwhelming.

Attitudes of the Doctors

What is the attitude of the scientifically trained doctors to the hospital conditions described? They are well aware of the fact that their hospitals do not conform with the standards they observed in Athens and in other urban centers. Some of our doctors were apologetic about their own small institutions. They complained about the inability to keep regular consulting hours and the fact that therefore patients were constantly overflowing the waiting rooms. They said, however, that there was no help for it, because the villagers could not possibly manage to get into town at any regular times. They also complained about the many relatives in attendance on their patients, and said they sometimes got in the way. They pointed out, however, that their patients were uneducated villagers for the most part and would be too miserable under any other conditions. Being Greeks themselves, they were,

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

in characteristically Greek fashion, more human-centered than science-centered. They went along with the human necessities of the patients, allowing these necessities to overshadow, for a time at least, what they regarded as the strict requirements of scientific hospital management. 743 759 [181]

Moreover, conversations with the doctors indicated that, although they were far more sophisticated than their village patients, they were nevertheless participants in the same basic culture, and shared many attitudes and expectations with their patients. For example, the lack of regular time scheduling for consultation, rounds of the wards, nursing routines, and the like, is not likely to be as personally irritating to a Greek doctor as it might be to his American counterpart. Greeks actively dislike regularity, and, unlike many Americans, do not derive comfort and security from routines. The Greek doctors are also less likely to be disturbed by the presence of the large numbers of visitors and their, to Americans, relatively boisterous conversations. Long and animated consultations before any decisions are made form a part of Greek life to a greater or lesser degree at all social levels, and conversation for its own sake is a favorite recreation. The fact is that illness and quiet are not inextricably linked concepts in Greek culture. 743 759 805 758 743 759 521 758

What the Greek doctors are apparently unaware of, however, is the extent to which their, to them, makeshift hospital practices conform to the social scientists' recent recommendations for flexibility and for adaptation to traditional methods of handling illness. What careful analysis has pointed out as a desirable method for conscious, planned, and gradual change, 743 758

[P. 27 (A)]

[Caucasus]

/86 cont./ misfortune, loses his house or livestock, the whole village shares in providing everything. Seldom does one find any one suffering in a Caucasian village. It has been a common expression among other groups to say that the Caucasians as individuals are worthless but as a group none could surpass them. This shows how effective this compound family life influenced the person's whole behavior and attitude. 476 621

Fertilizing the fields was unknown to these people. Even livestock manure was not valued very much and was used as fuel. Their method of improving the fertility of the land was to rest it for several years and the longer the rest the better for the field. For better results it was advisable to let the animals pasture the land. They always thought there was something magic in the hoofs of the animals. This was proven to them by grazing the winter wheat and barley early in the spring. They found better stooling and more yield. Even today they still believe it but cannot afford to try it under the new climatic conditions. (The reason why the hoofs had so much magic is explained as follows. /87/ Due to thawing of the ground the roots of the wheat and barley plants were exposed to the air and pasturing early in the spring was a method of packing the soil instead of using a roller to pack it so as to protect the roots of the plants.) 241

The culture of the Thracian group was just the opposite of that of the Caucasians. Although at the door-step of Asiatic and European civilization, these people have lived far from both. The frequent movement from their village due to continuous wars in that area, and the hardships they suffered has changed the life of each one of them and has made them pessimistic. They look at life and on the world as a whole with indignation and scornful attitude. This continuous movement has forced upon them the belief that everything was in vain and that life had little difference from animal life. The Thracians are strictly individualistic, not interested in community affairs or group life. They look at every one with suspicion, believe no one except themselves. They have no benevolent spirit and the misery of their neighbors make no 621 167 181 [178]

181 ●
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[167]

/87 cont./
impression on them. Even their wives and children are treated like slaves. The suffering of their children or their wives moves them /88/ very little. How much the hard life of wars affected them it is hard to tell.

Here on the one hand we have the unfriendly, resistant, apathetic, inferior Thracian, while on the other hand we have the friendly, frank, responsive, broad-minded and feeling-superior of the Caucasian. The pessimistic, the unconscious, unstable, unmannered, stupid and unreliable Thracian, to live with the optimistic, sensitive, self-assured, stable, mannered, intelligent and reliable Caucasian.

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Here were two groups, one ready to sacrifice time and material to improve the new village, while the other group could do nothing that was beyond the home yard. The Thracians as farmers are hard working and are contented with the old wooden plow, a one-room house, a kettle to cook in and a bowl for the whole family to eat from. Their agriculture was still primitive and fertilizers were unknown. The Thracians, like the Caucasians, believed too much in magic and that the good harvest year was largely in the hands of the divine spirit.

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Living together was hard for both groups under such conditions. The Caucasians, traditionally influenced by their community improvement ambition, started with /89/ enthusiasm to build and improve what they already found. The mutual aid, such as in barn-raising, exchange of labor, lending teams, lending tools, lending money and even food stuffs, caring for the sick and comforting the bereaved is widespread. The rush of harvesting and threshing is done cooperatively. When one once was questioned, "How do you have such a fine mutual assistance", the answer was as follows: "Well, you see one side of the picture only, that is the work part of it. The people who cooperate have the greatest fun in working, eating and drinking together. Some of the love songs find expression at such occasions like harvesting or threshing." The Caucasians were taught in their own world how to get more out of life. They know that happiness was born

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece E 41

To the Land of the Eagle

worked by a long wooden arm or balance, proceeded to water his horses. For a while I watched him lazily; then, pulling myself together for the long walk before me, I finished my drink, paid my score, and . . . climbed into the carriage.

And that is just what one does in Corfu.

181 Corfu is in truth a sleepy, lotos-eating island, whose people live on the easily-grown produce of the land in a sort of slothful content, too lazy to have much ambition beyond the ambition to live, too sensible, it may be, to strive after luxuries to which they are unaccustomed and which, in the long run, would add very little to their happiness. But for all that, they look back with regret to the time of the British administration when good roads were maintained all over the island, commerce was encouraged, and a prosperity was enjoyed that is now only a memory. A reinstatement of British control, supposing such a thing remotely possible, would be welcomed by everybody.

ISLAND OF SARANDA